7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

look upon it as being worth a good deal of money to the one who submits to the operation. His bow and four arrows, the result of much labor, he sold for $1.25. I gave him some tobacco, candy, and raisins, and we separated great friends.

In the afternoon I arrived at a house outside of which an old medicine-man, Castillo, was singing to soothe a patient, a middle-aged, powerful looking man who was lying on his back in front of him. His singing was accompanied by the rasping of two sticks; one end of the notched one he held by his left hand, while the other end rested against an inverted basket, and he drew the rasping stick each time up toward him and then down, the opposite movement to the one which we should use to produce the same result. Near the basket on the ground an effigy of a horned lizard had been placed; it was made of wood and daubed with ochre, its head turned toward the patient.

Some Indians came up smiling as if they wished it to be understood that they did not believe in the performance, for they knew that white men laugh at this. One of them obligingly brought me a basket for sale as well as three small ancient objects, a flint arrow-point, a spinning whorl, and a small perforated stone disk, all threaded on a string. In the meantime the medicine-man, whom I watched from my horse, was finishing his treatment by placing the effigy repeatedly on the patient's leg, breathing and blowing at the same time. The man had a pain in his leg which had been caused by a horned lizard, for, according to Papago beliefs, all animals have

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

The old man seemed glad to explain everything. He was also willing to sell me some of his treasures. One of them was a medicine-man's plume consisting of four eagle plumes tied together so that they diverged two by two. When used, these are held by the quill ends as a handle and moved in the air forward and backward as if dusting an object. When the young girls come of age they are "dusted" in this way from all evil. The implement was new and well made, and I wanted to buy it. "The plume is very valuable," he answered; "with us it is at least worth as much as a horse or a cow." He would, however, make it easy for me by letting me have it for $2.50. I presented him with a pouch of tobacco and a handful of candy, the cause of much interest to his little grandchildren who had been clinging to the good-natured old man all the time that he was explaining. He also promised to show me the so-called Montezuma's Cave, in the peak of Baboquivari, some day.

In a light wagon which Pablo borrowed we started on an excursion south, to be possibly extended beyond the border to Pozo Verde. The day was moist and warm. We passed several extensive summer rancherias or temporales as they are usually called. The rude fences of mezquite looked substantial and the Indian ranches gave an impression of prosperity. At two places there were dams also fenced in, but they were empty; they had been made by scooping up the rich soil with scrapers and horse-power. The water in such ponds lasts only three or four months and is not for irrigating purposes, but solely for the use of men and beasts. The

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

CUCURBITS

Pumpkin, *hahri (Cucurbita pepo)*
Cushaw, Crookneck pumpkin, *caskatc'ki (Cucurbita moschata)*
Muskmelon, *uuwi hahri (Cucumis melo)*
Watermelon, *kĭhpi (Citrullus citrullus)*

Both *Cucurbita pepo* and *C. moschata* are commonly regarded as aboriginal species among the Papagos, although this has not been definitely established. The Spanish records refer to the Pima-Papago people as growing *calabaşas* (10, 18), a word which was used quite loosely in old Spanish writings to denote pumpkins, squashes, or melons. Mange (18), in 1697, spoke of *melones* (probably muskmelons) and *sandias* (watermelons) as growing on the Gila and it is quite possible that these were grown from seed given by Kino, since this was ten years after his arrival. Other authorities state that watermelons were given the Indians by the Spaniards (27). Pumpkins were planted in the rainy season with an invocation like corn. When harvested the rind was peeled off in a long spiral which was hung from the house roof to dry, after which it was tied into bundles and stored in jars. Muskmelons and watermelons are grown at only a few places, such as San Xavier, where there is plenty of water. No attempt is made to store them.

TOBACCO

Coyote tobacco, *wiupuri (Nicotiana trigonophylla)*
Yaqui tobacco, *wiiw (Nicotiana tabacum)*

The first species used was the native *Nicotiana trigonophylla*, which grows wild on Elder Brother's mountain and is still used to some extent. In addition to this the Papagos and Pimas, at least fifty years ago, were cultivating the common tobacco *(N. tabacum)*. Seeds of this Yaqui tobacco, as the Papagos called it, were probably traded from Mexico. These seeds, in the possession of old men who did the tobacco raising, were considered very valuable and sometimes given as gifts.

Table 15. Acreage and Value of Crops Grown on Irrigated Land in 1962, Papago Reservations

24
311
435
563

Crop	Chuichu		San Xavier				Gila Bend	
	Indian		Indian		Non-Indian		Non-Indian	
	Acres	Value	Acres	Value	Acres	Value	Acres	Value
Garden	5	$ 2,500	17	$ 8,500	31	0	0	0
Cotton	115	47,840	8	3,000	246	$ 82,900	61	$23,000
Small Grains	200	15,975	20	940	210	19,230	260	17,342
Forage & Pasture	400	16,000	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	740	82,315	45	12,440	487	102,130	321	40,342

Gross value of Indian crops $ 94,755
Gross value of Non-Indian crops 142,472
Gross value of all crops 237,227

175
241

The history of irrigated farming at San Xavier and at Chuichu goes back to pre-Spanish times. The San Xavier area was described by Juan Mateo Manje, who visited there in 1697 with Father Kino:

> "Here the river runs a full flow of water, though the horses forded it without difficulty. There are good pasture and agricultural lands with a canal for irrigation. The Indians harvest corn, beans, and cotton from which they make cloth to dress themselves. Squash, melons and watermelons were also raised. We counted 800 souls in 186 houses." (Karns, p. 92)

[133]
[286]
[162]

Subsistence farming with irrigation from stream flow continued at San Xavier until 1912 with the number of acres

175
241
311

48% [641] their fields and springs on both sides of the boundary have given many virtually duel citizenship. So there is doubt as to whether the Papagos need "Tourist Permits." In 1950 apparently three-fourths of the Desert People who journeyed to Magdalena obtained "Tourist Permits" which cost $3 U. S. currency.[1]

786 527 [539] The Magdalena celebration is not wholly religious in character. The plazas of the town are jammed with flimsy booths of poles and mats selling toys, cloth, shoes, hardware, pottery, curios, and goods of every sort, as well as food and drink. There are games of chance, and amusements: merry-go-rounds and power rides; there are beauty parlors and dance halls.

This secular side of fiesta is not ignored by the Desert People. In fact, they join in whole-heartedly. Magdalena merchants look upon them as special guests of the town, welcome guests who are well-behaved and "rich." Every Papago questioned on the matter said he enjoyed his stay in Magdalena.[2]

[178] This great carnival with its colorful meeting of diverse cultures--Spanish, Papago, and Yaqui and Mayo Indian--seems to be the holiday of the year for the Desert People. Apparently it has largely replaced the old Papago New Year at the sahuaro-jack ceremony early in July as the major calendrical event. Such an occasion cannot lack its economic aspects.

511 435 788 The Papago pilgrim pays about $7.00 for his transportation. $3 more goes for a "Tourist Permit." Lodging for 3 nights during fiesta is expensive in Magdalena, since everyone doubles his price, and renting rooms never let at other times of the year is a primary industry of the place. Sleeping space in a room or in a patio near the main plaza in Magdalena costs about $2 U. S. per night.[3] This means another $6 expenditure for Papagos staying the average length of time. Eating for 3 days is not expensive at thrown-together restaurants on plazas and side streets. A satisfactory meal could be purchased for 3 pesos at a reasonably clean establishment. At night a feast (roast whole pig with fresh buns, tomato and vegetable for example) could be had for 4 pesos. Peddlers hawked

[1] Of 13 Papagos giving information 10 obtained permits, or 77%.

[2] In this case, 8 individuals of 8. The author has seen 2 fiestas at Magdalena; has yet to see Papagos who didn't seem to be having a good time.

[3] Dobyns, 1950, p. 28.

51
425
788

fruits and sugar cane, baked goods and all sorts of manufactured articles. A couple of large ears of boiled green corn costing 40 centavos were almost a meal. With the exchange rate at almost 9 pesos to the U. S. dollar, the Desert People could eat cheaply in Magdalena. $4 for a three-day stay in 1950 was ample.

Thus a Papago pilgrim spending 3 days at the 1950 fiesta needed about $20 U. S. to travel to and from Magdalena, and eat and sleep while there. But probably every Papago spent more than that amount, and most spent considerably more. There were candles to be bought for the saint, coins to be left in his box, ribbons to buy, statues for the household shrine, and other religious mementos, including a colored pin or
[273] a picture. And because Mexico does not discriminate against her Indian citizens in the matter of liquor as does the U. S., there was good Mexican beer and mescal and tequila to drink without let or hindrance. Most pilgrams probably spent $25 in 1950, and many spent up to $40 or $50 each.

788

San Xavier on the Papagos' own San Xavier reservation is not nearly so exciting as the Mexican town, but it is nearer and felt to be safer--many Papagos have an almost pathologic fear of Mexican pachucos.
[197] Staffed with Franciscans, San Xavier is still an Indian church, still an Indian mission. To San Xavier go[1] from 15% to 20% of the pilgrims from the cotton fields. This is a much less expensive pilgrimage than the one to Magdalena. There is no town with its shops and bars (although the city of Tucson is only a dosen miles away for shopping). Bus fare is cheaper. The 450 to 500 Papago pickers making a pilgrimmage to San Xavier had tamer times.

Chuwhiy Guwsk is a relatively new goal for pilgrims. San Xavier and Magdalena were founded by the first Jesuit missionary to the Desert People, Fr. Eusebio Kino, before 1700. The present churches were built under later Franciscan friars in the Spanish colonial period. But Chuwhiy Guwsk was never the site of a mission. Just south of the international boundary in Mexico, it is still an Indian town. Mexicans from

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 93]

[1] 4 of 23 whose pilgrimmage goal was obtained went to San Xavier--17%.

788 the surrounding countryside are beginning to make the pilgrimmage there. The church was built by the Indians to house the statue which is believed by them to have appeared miraculously in the village only a few years ago. Chuwhiy Guwsk (the name means Jackrabbit Falls Down) is growing in importance as a goal for Papago pilgrims. In 1950 it attracted about a fifth of those making a pilgrimmage from labor camps, probably more than 500 people.[1] Reached by desert trails, the town is not serviced by a bus. Pilgrims reached it on trucks or in cars, or in wagons or on horseback. Most Desert People who traveled to one of the fiestas by wagon in 1950 visited Chuwhiy Guwsk. The town itself has no permanent water supply aside from its charco, and affords no power supply for bright lights. Portable generators were used in 1950 to light the few temporary bars and restaurants. The merchandise stuffed booths of Magdalena were absent, and the cost of a pilgrimmage was much lower.

461 221 788 574 466 A good many Papagos worked a trip to their homes on the reserves into their pilgrimmage before they went back to picking cotton. Their disregard of what most Anglos consider unbreakable rules for good working behavior baffles and irritates their employers. Pilgrims from Pima county labor camps lost an average of 5[illegible] days from work, in effect a work week, varying from[2] those gone a single day to families absent 3 weeks. In Pinal county, which is even more distant from the pilgrimmage towns, Papagos lost more time from work. Families stayed from 2 days to a month, averaging 9 days away from their picking jobs.[3] This amount of time taken from cotton harvesting just before the peak of the season is reached is frequently incomprehensible to Anglo Protestant cotton growers, and is a black mark against Papago Catholic employees in their eyes.

484 788 511 435 It seems quite likely that most Papago families making a pilgrimmage from a labor camp to Magdalena, Chuwhiy Guwsk or San Xavier in 1950 spent most or all that they had earned picking cotton up to that time on their pilgrimmage trip. The average sized family working in the cotton harvest needed $90 for transportation, food and lodging in Magdalena for the usual 3-day sojourn, and the added cost of drinking beer and

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[1] 5 of 23 individuals whose goal was obtained, 22%.
[2] Based on information from 6 farmers hiring Papagos.
[3] Based on 20 farms where information was obtained.

mescal and perhaps paying a small fine to get out of jail next morning, buying presents for folks back home and children, purchasing a new pair of boots or a coat and donating to the Saint and buying ribbons and relics to take home all added up. Probably most of the families going to Magdalena spent around $125.

While Chuwhiy Guwsk was not so expensive, and San Xavier considerably less in cost, the nearly 600 Papago families making pilgrimmages from labor camps spent at least $50,000 on the one religious celebration on St. Francis of Assisi's day, and more than likely spent about $75,000. It is hardly surprising that Magdalena merchants are glad to see Papagos.

Acquiring this amount of cash to spend is undoubtedly a very strong motive behind Papago cotton field labor. Growers impatient with their Indians for taking off work at this time must realize that this fiesta is one main reason the Desert People work at all!

Most Papago families picking cotton in 1956 made at least one trip home to the reserves. In fact, over four-fifths of them returned home at least once.[1] Some made frequent trips to care for livestock or poultry, or just to have a good time at fiestas, and many made two trips, which was about average.[2]

About 7 trips of every 10 were made at All Souls Day, the next important religious event after the fiesta of St. Francis, and the next most important in number of Indian participants.[3] However, there are no centers for the observance of this day of memorial. Families scatter to their home towns where they visit graveyards to leave flowers and candles and pray for the dead.

The last of the trio of religious festivals falls on Dec. 3, the day of St. Francis Xavier. (Actually the Desert People do not clearly distinguish between saints Francis of Assisi and Xavier. The big fiesta on Oct. 4 was probably held originally Dec. 3, the day of Jesuit St. Francis Xavier, but was shifted by later

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[1] 23 families of 24 giving data returned, 82%.
[2] 23 families made 30 plus trips (some interviews being early in the season didn't include all trips). 6 Pima and 4 Pinal county farmers said their Papago hands averaged just over 2 trips home per family during picking season, much to their employers' annoyance.
[3] 14 of 20 trips of known purpose were at All Souls, 70%.